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ABSTRACT

The booklet lists and analyzes documents related to citizenship education from four sectors of society: business and industry, education, labor, and the voluntary sector. They were selected on the basis of their utility in providing an understanding of citizen education, and their influence on existing programs. Citizenship education is defined as those programs and processes that can provide the knowledge, skills, values, and experiences people need for responsible citizenship. The booklet is divided into five sections. Section I discusses general literature, focusing on mainstream histories, pluralistic perspectives, and revisionist analyses. Section II examines changing attitudes toward citizenship education in the schools, listing documents about early guidelines and curriculum patterns, later influences, and goal-oriented approaches. Section III notes information emanating from the business world. Section IV discusses labor education sources and their publications, such as union-conducted programs, university based programs, and community service involvement. Section V examines general volunteer organizations, community organizations, and foundations. Conclusions show that each sector of society emphasizes one or two of the learning areas (knowledge, skills, attitudes, and participation). For a national effort in citizen education, recommendations are that each sector be assigned responsibility for one or two skills, or all sectors redesign their programs to include all four skills. Appendices include annotated readings in the ERIC system and an extensive index. (CK)

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WHO TEACHES CITIZENSHIP?

A SURVEY OF DOCUMENTS AND RESOURCES

by

Mary Jane Turner

Mary Jane Turner is a Staff Associate of the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., and the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education.

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Preface

Educators are now recognizing that citizen education is a lifelong process, beginning before a child enters the formal education system and continuing after formal schooling is completed. It is also recognized that individuals are influenced in their beliefs about citizenship by many organizations other than the school system.

Many social scientists believe there needs to be a reconceptualization of citizen education. Before that can begin, it is useful to know who teaches citizenship now and how it has been taught in the past. It is particularly useful to know how groups outside the formal education system are attempting to teach the principles of citizenship to their own members and others. In this publication Mary Jane Turner has pulled together and analyzed citizen-education-related documents from education, business and industry, labor, and the voluntary sector--a task that has never before been attempted.

Partial support for the preparation of this publication was provided by the Citizen Education Staff of the U.S. Office of Education, which has a special interest in the contributions of all sectors of society to citizen education. The publication is presented as a working document available for continuing critique.

ERIC/ChESS is pleased to have been able to provide additional support for the preparation of this publication. We hope that it will become "grist for the mill" as educators begin to establish new directions for citizen education.

James E. Davis
Associate Director, ERIC/ChESS
Associate Director, SSEC

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WHO TEACHES CITIZENSHIP?
A SURVEY OF DOCUMENTS AND RESOURCES

by

Mary Jane Turner

Introduction

The task of selecting critical documents in citizen education is a formidable one. The literature is vast, and what appears useful to one program planner or policymaker might seem irrelevant to another. But if the task of selecting these documents is great, the need for developing able and active citizens is even greater--indeed, of such import to the stability of this nation and the welfare of its citizenry that we must provide the best possible support and assistance to program planners.

Our first step in preparing this essay was to determine precisely what we would mean by the term *documents*. We decided that, in order to include the most meaningful pieces from the literature, the word should be defined as broadly as possible. Thus, *documents* here refers to books, essays, monographs, speeches, reports, and secondary analyses that contain definitional statements, goals and objectives, theoretical or philosophical positions, critiques of society that citizen education might address, and descriptions of civic education programs. The documents included were selected on the basis of (1) their present and future utility in providing an understanding of citizen education or (2) their influence in shaping the citizen education programs that exist today.

Our second task was deciding how we would define the term *citizen education*. Although the term is widely used, we discovered that, strangely enough, there is no consensus about exactly what it means. One researcher, Byron B. Massialas, found that the "notion of citizen education," or character training, is totally ambiguous in the literature:

> The term "citizenship" had both descriptive and normative (melioristic) aspects, and there have been no major efforts to separate the two. [Many of the projects] had not been very careful in distinguishing between citizenship as a *process* through which one internalizes the sociopolitical beliefs and values of the system and citizenship as the

> *ideal state of being* which each member of a civilized society ought to achieve. . . . Thus, the descriptive-explanatory usages of citizenship were mingled with the valuative-prescriptive and the applicative.[1]

Fred M. Newmann notes that if civic education is seen as a montage of the various approaches to it, the ideal citizen should be at once a scientist, a jurist (or a least a defender of the rule of law), an objective though introspective social critic, a moral philosopher, an activist, and a good "Scout."[2]

Some writers focus on educating citizens for participation in public acts, while others emphasize enhancing attributes of individual personality. R. Freeman Butts states that citizen education--in the schools, at least--has been expected to simultaneously serve the sometimes conflicting purposes of *pluribus* and *unum*.[3]

None of this is to say that one emphasis is right and another wrong. Rather, we believe that no single emphasis is adequate by itself. Thus we have chosen a broad definition of the word *citizen*, one that accommodates many approaches--one which, we believe, incorporates the best thinking of educators today. For us, a citizen is a person who is willing to effectively and actively participate as a responsible member of society.[4] Therefore we have defined *citizenship education* as those programs and processes that can provide the knowledge, skills, values, and experiences people need, if they are to act as responsible citizens. This definition has the added advantage of allowing us to point out how the emphasis on various kinds of knowledge and skills has changed over time in each of the sectors of society that provide citizen education opportunities.

Unfortunately, much of the literature dealing with citizenship education posits the assumption that civic knowledge is acquired primarily through planned instruction in formal educational institutions. For the most part, the roles of other social agencies that influence the process of politicization have been ignored or discounted. It was just this one-dimensional view of citizen education that we wished to avoid.[5]

By our definition, many sectors of society conduct citizen education programs. Citizen education permeates (and, in a real sense, structures) the social studies curriculum in the formal educational system. In

addition, a significant part of the educational efforts of other sectors--business, labor, religion, voluntary organizations, government, the mass media, and primary groups--is devoted to citizen education. Thus, our third task was to determine which of these sectors to include in our examination.

Richard Remy breaks down society into the following sectors: schools, governmental institutions, the work situation, the mass media, voluntary affiliations, and primary groups. These sectors function, he says, both as "settings where individuals confront daily the tasks of citizenship" and as "sources of the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experiences we acquire in the process of citizen development."[6]

Although we agree that Remy's categorization is functional, we have chosen a simpler categorization scheme: we have limited our examination to documents from formal education, business, labor, and voluntary organizations.[7] Moreover, we will be dealing only with documents that are explicitly intended for educational purposes. By setting these limits we do not mean to discount the impact of religion, the mass media, the family, or peer groups on citizenship education. (Anyone who saw the television production of *Roots* can little doubt the impact of the mass media, for example.) However, the amount and complexity of the literature in these sectors are clearly beyond the scope of this essay.

Finally, we had to devise a strategy for assessing which documents, of the thousands available, were truly useful or influential. We decided to ask experts from each sector to nominate documents they believed to be important in providing a clear understanding of that sector's citizen education efforts. (A list of the people who were kind enough to suggest documents and respond to our question is included on pages 53-56.) In addition, we asked distinguished persons from each field to review a draft of the final product and suggest revisions. For their valuable assistance, we are grateful to R. Freeman Butts and John D. Haas, education; John D. Sullivan, business; Alice M. Hoffman, labor; and Harriet H. Naylor, voluntary organizations.

Although we made additions and changes on the basis of our reviewers' comments, final responsibility for the content of this essay rests with the author. The process of selecting items for inclusion was admittedly

subjective; the descriptions and discussions are, of necessity, brief and perhaps oversimplified. Others attempting such a project might well have included documents that we did not identify. We hope, however, that this essay may be considered a first step in developing a greater understanding of what constitutes citizen education.

General Literature

The citations in this section are included primarily because they provide valuable perspectives on the place of citizenship education in the general scheme of education or because they analyze the effects of certain approaches to education on various classes of citizens. Most are secondary analyses drawn from the literature of general education. The ones selected are not necessarily better than others of their kind; rather, they are representative of the genre.

Mainstream Histories

Many traditional histories of American education depict the schools as having been generally successful in playing a major role in expanding individual opportunity. One of the newest texts in this category is *Public Education in the United States: From Revolution to Reform*, by R. Freeman Butts (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, forthcoming). Another comprehensive treatment is Ralph W. Tyler's *Perspectives on American Education* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1976). The particular relevance of Tyler's approach lies in his discussion of many strategies of citizenship education that are considered "new" today but which, in fact, have strong historical antecedents.

Also useful in this context is *Selected Readings in Education*, assembled by Howard Mehlinger for a citizenship conference sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education (Kansas City, Missouri; September 20-23, 1976). Drawn from many sources, the selections were intended to "present a sampling of provocative writings from across the whole spectrum of citizenship education."

Pluralistic Perspectives

As a group, the authors discussed here hold a less optimistic view of the quality of American education than do the mainstream historians. They see a need for new strategies and approaches to education in general and to citizen education in particular.

Bernard Bailyn's *Education in the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vantage, 1960) and two books by Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Knopf, 1961) and *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), are especially interesting in this regard because they clearly acknowledge that formal education is only one of the ways in which children are taught. Although the first two books mentioned start from the premise that the schools have been the primary institutions of democratization and "popularization," in *Public Education* Cremin posits a view of education that he describes as "a theory of the relation of various educative interactions and institutions to one another and to the society at large." (p. 3).

Theodore Ryland Sizer carries this approach to its logical conclusion in h. ; article "Education and Assimilation: A Fresh Plea for Pluralism" (*Phi Delta Kappan* 58, no. 1 [September 1976], pp. 31-35) by suggesting that education move toward institutional pluralism: "We need a smorgasbord of schools to make this a constructively pluralistic nation, one that takes account of group needs and identities within a larger American culture."

Revisionist Analyses

Three books that challenge the assumption that the public schools have done a good job in educating citizens are *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America*, by Michael B. Katz (New York: Praeger, 1971); *The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education*, by Colin Greer (New York: Viking, 1973); and *The Sorting Machine: National Educational Policy Since 1945*, by Joel Spring (New York: David McKay, 1976).

Each of these books asserts that public education has served neither as an effective antipoverty weapon nor as the ultimate equalizer, a democratizing mechanism that identifies talent and matches it with

opportunity. Rather, these authors suggest, the basic structure of the school (which was fairly well established by 1880) is designed to maintain social order by instituting the policies of negative credentialing and manpower channeling. The larger inference that can be drawn from the revisionists is that citizenship education in the schools has encouraged the development of passive, nonparticipatory citizens.[8]

The Schools

Since the founding of the United States, citizenship training has been a primary intrinsic goal of formal education. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, James Madison, and Benjamin Franklin all believed that "the science of politics" should not be left to chance or private initiative, but should be taught and nurtured in the institutions of the new nation.

Every decade has produced many documents containing pronouncements about what should be included in "acceptable" citizen education programs and an almost equal number of documents explaining why these pronouncements are wrong. Interestingly enough, the pro and con positions have always been divided on the very questions that plague program planners today: What knowledge, skills, and values should be taught? What participatory experiences should be provided, and for whom?

The *knowledge* component of citizen education has moved erratically from teaching about the "great documents of governance" and Constitutional history through teaching about the legal structures of government and problems of democracy to teaching about the processes of government. Although the development of these various strands has been roughly chronological, all persist in today's classrooms.

Training in the *skills* of citizenship has followed a similarly erratic course, although the rhetoric has always exceeded the reality. George Washington and the other founding fathers believed that a republican form of government required instruction in the science of government. However, their interest was focused not so much on the development of theoreticians as on "the education of a group of capable, practical politicians *trained to implement American ideals.*"[9] Unfortunately,

in Washington's time neither the science of politics nor theories of pedagogy were sufficiently advanced to achieve this goal--nor are they, perhaps, today. Perhaps because of the persistently abiding faith that merely reading about government structures will somehow produce skilled political actors, political skills have never been widely taught.[10]

Educators have long been dedicated to inculcating uncritical acceptance of traditional American *values*. The principal goal in early days was to develop "morally upright, God-fearing, straight-thinking citizens."[11] However, educators have never been clear and unequivocal about selecting instrumental goals. Unlike Jefferson, who prescribed documents for use at the University of Virginia with the aim of ensuring that no taint of federalism would reach the students,[12] many civic educators today are reluctant to espouse a particular political or moral point of view. Still others deplore the morally relativistic stance of some teachers.

The fourth and newest component of citizen education, *participatory experience*, probably is given more serious consideration today than ever before. After John Dewey, some of the first educators to recognize the importance of incorporating participatory experience into the curriculum design were the proponents of the core curriculum concept and the developers of the Citizen Education Project at Columbia University.[13]

The fact that all four aspects of citizen education had been incorporated into at least some school programs by that time was documented in a study undertaken by the Education Policies Commission of the National Education Association in 1940. A team of investigators who studied course offerings in selected secondary schools (chosen because of the perceived excellence of their citizenship education programs) found (1) courses in which the nature of democracy was taught, (2) teaching methods that incorporated classroom experiences in democratic life, (3) opportunities for in-school/out-of-class experiences in democratic life, (4) opportunities for participation in community and civic endeavors, and (5) opportunities for helping determine school administrative policies.[14]

The "for whom?" question has likewise been a concern of citizen educators. Such notions as that of a "civic elite," or of "active"

and "passive" citizens, while not often stated overtly, are still implicit in many existing programs. R. Freeman Butts uses three categories--the college-bound, the non-college bound, and the unincorporated--to classify the range of students who should be (but not necessarily have been) served by civic education.[15]

Our concern up to this point has been to demonstrate that citizen education is not a novel idea that is being addressed for the first time by education. Even the programmatic components--the content and strategies--have probably been examined by educators in other decades. There are remarkable historical parallels, to borrow a phrase from Hazel Hertzberg.[16] On the other hand, we do not want to imply that civic education has not changed over time. Most of the changes that have occurred, however, have involved the expansion or reinvention of themes already developed.

If the idea of citizen education is not new, the society for which programs must be designed has certainly changed. In the 1977 preliminary report of the Task Force on Citizen Education, Richard Remy discusses just two aspects of that change--social complexity and global interdependence--which require us to devise creative educative processes in order to equip "new" citizens to face the problems that will confront them.[17]

> Taken together [these two factors] have greatly increased the complexity and scale of the social environment in which we function as citizens. As social complexity increases the status of what Justice Brandeis called the "office of citizen" also increases in complexity. As the complexity of citizenship increases, the societal tasks of developing citizen competence become more complex and increasingly more problematic.[18]

In order to address these monumental tasks, it would seem imperative to read those documents that describe what is happening in the schools today as well as those that definitively explain "how the schools got that way." (The citations in this section do not deal with such variables as the racist or sexist bias of education and the impact of individual school board members on programs, nor do they deal in any real sense with the impact of programs on students. These concerns are discussed in the documents cited in the General Literature section.)

Early Guidelines and Curriculum Patterns

Two documents in the education literature stand out as particularly influential because they structured curriculum guidelines for secondary social studies which generally are in force even today.

The first of these documents, published in 1915, was *The Teaching of Community Civics* (Bureau of Education Bulletin 1915, no. 23; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office). This report was the work of a special committee appointed to evaluate the quality of civil government courses by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, established in 1913 by the National Education Association.

The report stated that the primary objective of secondary-level courses in civics in particular and social studies in general should be training for good citizenship; it recommended a course in community civics for students in the ninth grade as well as a "capstone," or advanced course. The word "community" in the title of the report referred not only to the local community but also to the state and national communities. The courses recommended were designed to develop "young citizens" who knew about community agencies, who were interested in the welfare of their community as well as in their individual concerns, who were capable of initiating social reform, and who were productive in social action. The content and strategies for achieving such outcomes were often specified. However, although the report was based on the presumption that it was "good" for citizens to be socially and politically active, its methodology did not include strategies for teaching participatory skills, nor did it suggest participation opportunities.[19]

The Social Studies in Secondary Education (Bureau of Education Bulletin 1916, no. 28; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), the report prepared by the full Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, endorsed the findings of the special committee. This report, which included the famous "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," added a world "community" to the local-state-nation configuration proposed by the earlier report. Civic education was one of the seven cardinal principles.

The 1916 report also recommended the institution of a half-year or full-year course in economic, social, and political problems of democracy.

The purpose of the course was to give "a more definite, comprehensive, and deeper knowledge of some of the problems of social life, and thus securing a far more intelligent and active citizenship." The entire report was predicated on the assumption that the most important function of social studies instruction was the development of "social efficiency and good citizenship."

The content of these two reports is thought provoking; however, their influence can probably be viewed best in the light of the course pattern they legitimized: While the United States has never had a uniform scholastic program in the social studies, most of the formal instruction in citizenship has occurred in American history courses (which are traditionally and almost universally taught in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades), in ninth-grade civics courses, and in twelfth-grade American government and/or problems of democracy courses (the 1916 model).

Later Influences

The years following World War I were marked by considerable experimentation with the social studies curriculum. Two new broad objectives that gained currency during that time were the idealization of democracy and the intensification of patriotism.

In 1929 the Commission of Social Studies of the American Historical Association, aided by funds from the Carnegie Corporation, undertook a series of surveys and research projects designed to appraise the state of social studies education. Although the report of the commission (which was published in 17 volumes between 1932 and 1941) was focused on the existing social situation and on guiding principles in curriculum construction rather than on a definitive set of recommendations, it stands as the most recent major reconceptualization of citizenship and citizenship education.[20]

Two of the volumes in this report are of particular interest to citizen educators: *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools* (Part 1 of the report), by Charles A. Beard (New York: Scribner's, 1934), and *Civic Education in the United States* (Part 6), by Charles E. Merriam (New York: Scribner's, 1934). Both focus on the philosophy of citizen

education and its place in the social studies curriculum. (Two other volumes in the report are discussed on pages 12 and 13 of this essay.)

The National Council for the Social Studies is the largest organization of social studies practitioners in the United States. Thus, an examination of some of the NCSS yearbooks provides a long-term view of the state of the art of citizenship education. Perhaps the most interesting (and the most potentially depressing, when considered in the light of impact data from the political socialization literature) insight that can be gained from such a study is that there has been a remarkable sameness of programs and proposals over time.

For the purposes of this essay, we examined three NCSS yearbooks: the 22nd, *Education for Democratic Citizenship*, edited by Ryland Crary (1951); the 30th, *Citizenship and a Free Society: Education for the Future*, edited by Franklin Patterson (1960); and the 36th, *Political Science in the Social Studies*, edited by Donald H. Riddle and Robert S. Cleary (1966). The last volume clearly illustrates the extent to which disciplinarians in the fields of history and political science have long accepted major responsibility for providing instruction in civic education. Although most of its chapters focus on the methodological approaches of the various areas of political science, one is entitled "Teaching and Creative Citizenship."[21]

A fourth NCSS publication, Donald W. Oliver's *Promising Practices in Civic Education* (1967), is perhaps the most interesting of all. In 1965 the NCSS, under the auspices of the Council on Civic Education and with the financial support of the Danforth Foundation, identified and compiled a list of "the most promising practices in the making of citizens." On the basis of this survey (which asked, "What is a good citizen?"), Oliver's handbook spells out 11 goals for civic education and suggests methods for attaining their realization.

The NCSS adopted citizenship education for its 1977 program theme. Bulletins published during that year examine the concept from a variety of perspectives.

Another powerful educational organization with a long history of concern about the quality of citizen education is the National Education Association. From 1946 to 1954 the NEA published a series of reports on

the national citizenship conferences sponsored yearly by the association. The first conference was held in Philadelphia in 1946; the participants represented many sectors of society. Among the honorary chairmen of the annual conferences have been three Chief Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court (Harlan F. Stone, Charles Evans Hughes, and Earl Warren) and Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. Reports from the first nine conferences contain statements of goals and transcripts of presentations made during the general sessions. After the ninth conference, sponsorship was assumed by the U.S. Justice Department.

In 1963, the Education Policy Commission of the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators joined forces to develop a document, *Social Responsibility in a Free Society* (Washington: NEA, 1963), that was focused on social responsibility and the ethical dimensions of education. One section, "Implications for Public Policy," expands on the theme that it is necessary to involve nonschool agencies--churches, voluntary organizations--providing opportunities for participatory experiences to young people.

In 1975 many educators, among them members of the NCSS and NEA, still felt that existing educational policy statements were inadequate and obsolete. As the NEA *Bicentennial Ideabook* commented, they believed that a definitive volume ought be prepared that would "contain a reframing of the cardinal principles of education and recommendations for a global curriculum." The task force appointed to undertake this mission published a report, *Curriculum Change Toward the 21st Century* (Washington: National Education Association, 1977). This report, written by Harold G. Shane, listed 28 "cardinal principles" for education in the coming century.[22]

Two additional volumes from the report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association (see page 10 of this essay) are helpful in obtaining a historical perspective of the multiple influences on citizen education. Part 2 of the commission report, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*, by Rolla M. Tryon (New York: Scribner's, 1935), is useful for two reasons: First, it clearly (and, to some degree, tediously) documents the nature of social studies instruction--and hence of citizenship education--in the nineteenth-century United States. Second, it describes the efforts of such organizations as the National Municipal

League, the American Bar Association, the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, and the American Political Science Association to encourage broader programs of citizen education.

The third volume in the commission's report, *Citizen's Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, by Bessie L. Pierce (New York: Scribner's 1933), examines the pressures exerted on schools and curricula by private interest groups--for example, the National Association of Manufacturers.

Goal-Oriented Approaches

The next group of documents cited are categorized according to a typology developed by Fred M. Newmann which identifies distinguishable approaches to the common goal of citizen education: the academic disciplines of history and the social sciences, law-related education, social problems, critical thinking, values clarification, moral development, community involvement, and institutional reform.[23] The works discussed here were chosen because each is one of the better representatives of its genre.

Academic Disciplines (History and the Social Sciences). Although one could cite many works advocating discipline-oriented citizenship education, John D. Haas' *The Era of the New Social Studies* (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium and ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education [ED 141 191], 1977) provides a perspective that is not available from any single primary document. Haas analyzes multiple rationales and points out some of the basic weaknesses in the disciplinary approach when it is used alone.[24]

Law-Related Education. The case for law-focused education (generally a process or jurisprudential approach) is made cogently in the May 1973 issue of *Social Education* (vol. 37, no. 5; Isidore Starr, guest editor), a publication of the National Council for the Social Studies. Useful insights into this approach can also be found in two other sources: Margaret S. Branson, "What Is the Place of Law-Related Studies in the Curriculum?" (*Social Studies Review* 14, no. 1 [Fall 1974], pp. 8-11), and Joel Henning, director, *Law-Related Education in America: Guidelines for the Future* (St. Paul: West, 1975).

Social Problems and Critical Thinking. These two approaches tend to merge, because social problems provides the content of both. However, the proponents of the critical-thinking approach believe that, although the social-problems focus provides appropriate content, it is also necessary to use a structured teaching strategy in order to teach skills in reasoning and critical analysis.

There are two rigorous rationales for approaching citizen education in this context. The second edition of *Teaching High School Social Studies*, by Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), discusses the use of social problems to develop critical-thinking skills. *Teaching Public Issues in the High School*, by Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1974), focuses on the analysis of contemporary and persistent politico-ethical controversies using reflective and critical-thinking processes.

Values Clarification. The explicit purpose of values-clarification instruction is not citizenship education. However, as Fred M. Newmann points out, most civil problems are caused primarily by confusion about values. Thus it seems useful to consider an approach that helps students identify central values which they can support and act on. An early statement of this approach can be found in Louis E. Raths, Merrill Harmin, and Sidney B. Simon, *Values and Teaching* (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1966).

Moral Development. The leading proponent of the moral-development approach, Lawrence Kohlberg, believes that ethical and moral growth is a natural cognitive development that proceeds through six analytically separate stages. Although one cannot attain a higher stage without having moved through the preceding stage, not everyone automatically attains the highest, most-ethical levels. Thus it is necessary to structure interactive experiences in which students can discover inadequacies in their reasoning and learn more sophisticated patterns.

Kohlberg's thesis is best explained in his article "Moral Education for a Society in Transition" in the October 1975 issue of *Educational Leadership* (vol. 33, no. 1). Another relevant article, "Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education," appeared in the April 1976 issue of *Social Education* (vol. 40, no. 4; Edwin Fenton, editor).

In addition, the National Education Association has prepared a reader, *Values Concepts and Techniques* (Washington: NEA, 1976), that

contains articles dealing with values clarification and moral development. This handbook focuses on the philosophical underpinnings of these two approaches and on techniques for operationalizing them.

Community Involvement. The community-involvement approach presumes that social action and civic concern cannot be adequately communicated in school-based learning environments that largely rely on verbalized instruction. Newmann states that all programs of this genre "have in common a belief in 'learning by doing,' 'experiential learning,' or dealing with concrete 'here and now' realities, rather than studying problems of democratic government exclusively through a detached, abstract, or academic approach." By far the best-known book dealing with community-involvement approaches is Newmann's own, *Education for Citizen Action: Challenge for the Secondary Curriculum* (Berkeley: McCutchan, 1975).

Institutional School Reform. Reforming the institutions on which education is based is not in itself an approach to education. Rather, the reform approach is predicated on the notion that it is impossible to teach democratic values in a bureaucratic, authoritarian environment. More than 50 years ago, John Dewey wrote what probably is the most analytic of the statements supporting this philosophy in *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916).

The conceptual approaches described in this section represent dominant strains in citizen education programs. Inherent in each is a view of society, a view of the learner, and a view of preferred educational outcomes.

However, it must be kept in mind that most if not all of these conceptions were generated by white, middle-class educators. Therefore, it seems appropriate here to mention another strand of literature which, while not explicitly programmatic, focuses on the nature of society as well as on educational outcomes. This literature, comments Jovelino Ramos of the National Council of the Churches of Christ, has had considerable influence on the thinking of "Latinos, Asians, Blacks, and even Indians."[26] For an understanding of this perspective, see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), and Ivan Illitch, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

Of all the approaches mentioned, the academic disciplines and law-related education place the most emphasis on acquisition of knowledge and development of specific skills. The thrust of the social-problems approach varies according to the rigor of the teacher; probably the main emphases are on knowing and valuing. Critical thinking is a skill-development process. Values clarification and moral development emphasize the valuing component of learning; the community-involvement approach advocates participation and (depending on the teacher) sometimes skill development.

Variations in approaches notwithstanding, it is a fairly safe bet that most classroom teachers consider acquisition of knowledge to be their major instructional goal.

Business and Industry

In terms of the magnitude of money and effort expended, the citizen education activity of the business sector is impressive. It must be remembered, however, that although a "business ethic" (belief in the free market system) generally underlies the civic education programs sponsored by business, there is no consistency in their goals, strategies, or intended audiences. Rather, these programs are as diverse as the segments of society that make up the business community. In discussing this sector we will use two typologies: one related to business-oriented organizations and the other dealing with the kinds of program which appear to be typical. In addition, we will indicate which educational goal--knowledge, skill development, attitude formation, or participatory experience--appears dominant in each type.

The following segments of business are more or less independently involved in formal citizen education efforts: (1) business-oriented periodicals; (2) associations of business and businesspersons--for example, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Business Roundtable; (3) nonprofit and nonpartisan arms of business--for example, the American Advertising Council, which is an arm of the communications and advertising industry; (4) commerce and trade associations--for example, the American Petroleum Institute and the

Manufacturer's Chemists Assocation; (5) individual corporations and businesses; and (6) nonprofit and nonpartisan developers of K-12 economic/political materials and school-oriented programs--for example, the Joint Council on Economic Education and Junior Achievement.[27]

Equally diverse are the audiences to which the programs of these groups are directed. These audiences include (1) the public at large, reached through advertisements, articles, and editorials in the mass media; (2) specialized adult publics, addressed by way of journal articles or articles in "quality" magazines; (3) such intraorganizational clients as customers, employees, and stockholders, who can be reached by workshops, seminars, brochures, pamphlets, and speakers; (4) students, from elementary to college level, who are influenced by classroom materials and teacher-training opportunities; and (5) community, civic, religious, and social groups, who may be affected by intergroup membership and guest speakers.[28]

Despite all this activity, there does not seem to be a significant body of literature emanating from the business sector if we consider only those documents that have been influential in shaping the direction of citizen education efforts. Using a different criterion--What documents must be read in order to understand the sector?--yields considerably more that is of interest. Some of these documents might validly be considered a part of the literature of formal schooling because they deal with economic/business education in the schools.[29] We decided to include them in this section because of their close relationship to the business community. However, the fact remains that the business sector lacks a long history of formal--and thus recorded--participation in education.

The Powell Memorandum and the Business Response

Two recent documents are important both because they have influenced citizen education and because they afford significant insights into the business sector.

The first, commonly known as the Powell Memorandum, was written by Lewis F. Powell in 1971, prior to his nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court, at the request of the chairman of the Education Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The purpose of the memorandum was to suggest ways of presenting a more-balanced view of the country's economic system to the American public.

In this document Powell, reflecting the business sector's concern about extremist attacks on the American economic and political system, called for business to take a more-aggressive attitude in support of its own (and America's) best interests. This new aggressive posture, which Powell believed should be "a primary responsibility of corporate management." would take the forms of (1) initiating constructive action on college and university campuses by providing scholars and speakers, evaluating textbooks, and working to achieve balanced faculties; (2) developing programs for secondary schools; (3) designing and sponsoring educational programs for the general public; (4) taking direct political action through legislatures and the courts; and (5) mobilizing and educating corporate stockholders. The full text of the Powell Memorandum, "Attack on American Free Enterprise System," was published as an undated special supplement to *Washington Report*, the biweekly newsletter issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

The "Business Response" to the memorandum constitutes the second document of this famous pair. In 1972, spurred by Justice Powell's analysis and by surveys which indicated that business was held in low esteem by the public, the board of directors of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce appointed a task force of 40 business representatives and academicians to review Powell's suggestions and make recommendations. The task-force report accepted Powell's premise--"Business and the enterprise system are in deep trouble, and the hour is late"--and essentially supported the recommendations in the memorandum. For the complete text, see *Washington Report* 12, no. 26 (November 26, 1973).

Most observers believe that the climate of public opinion toward business has changed dramatically since 1973. Business/education relations, in particular, have shown great improvement. The citations that follow reflect the business community's attempts to implement a wide-ranging educational effort.

Business-Oriented Journals

The business sector's concern about its image often is reflected in the articles and editorials published by business-oriented periodicals. One way to get an answer to the question "How are we doing?" is, of course, to conduct a survey and publish the results. Recently, the

conclusions reached by such surveys have provided business leaders with some cause for optimism--and with some surprises.

An analysis of some recent surveys reported in business-related journals indicates, for example, that the American public may be more supportive of--and knowledgeable about--the economic system than had previously been supposed. These results may reflect the impact of educational programs aimed either at the general public or at corporate employees; at any rate, it appears that the business sector is increasingly perceived as employing a stance of social responsibility rather than one of beleaguered advocacy.

Perhaps encouraged toward candor by this trend, some writers in business-oriented journals seem to be arguing for a more-critical approach to materials development. Among them is Thomas F. Ris, writing in *Public Relations Journal* ("Industry's Educational Materials," June 1977). On the basis of data derived from a survey of 88 teachers in three states concerning the quality of educational materials emanating from certain American corporations, Ris proposed a list of 12 "points to remember when developing materials."

Another writer who has questioned the impact of corporate education programs is Paul H. Weaver ("Corporations Are Defending Themselves With the Wrong Weapons," *Fortune*, June 1977). Weaver believes that most Americans are reasonably knowledgeable about economic facts, and that negative attitudes toward business are partly the result of a lack of clarity in the educational goals of the business sector.

Associations of Businesses

Of all the citizen education programs sponsored by business-oriented organizations, probably the most extensive is that mounted by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The national Chamber provides publications, audiovisual material, guidelines, and information to its members in order to assist them in developing local programs. In addition to carrying on centralized lobbying activities, the Chamber makes available the names and addresses of legislators and sample formats for writing to them.

The Chamber has prepared three programs that can be used in community seminars or workshops in the public schools. These are usually purchased

by local businesses or service organizations and presented gratis to the school system.

One of these programs, *Action Course in Practical Politics*, was actually available several years before the Powell Memorandum. *Action Course* is a highly cognitive program which examines such aspects of political participation as precincts, campaigns, clubs, and meetings.

The second program, *Economics for Young Americans*, is contained in two kits, each of which covers four areas of economic knowledge. The first deals with "The Promise of Productivity," "Money Matters," "Profits at Work," and "Business Means Business About Ecology." The second kit includes "The Business of Competition," "Why the Price?," "Check Your Paycheck," and "The Sense of Saving." Each subject is presented in a color and sound slide/film supported by a teacher's guide and student activity masters.

The third program being implemented by the U.S. Chamber is designed to promote school/business dialogues. Local chambers sponsor training programs for teachers, career education programs, and teacher/employee exchange programs and provide classroom/work experience opportunities for students. Many of these activities have major citizen education components in that business and the schools are working together to encourage student involvement in community affairs.

Nonprofit Arms of Business

One organization in this category that spends considerable money and effort on public-service messages is the American Advertising Council. In recent years the Council has mounted from 25 to 28 campaigns annually in support of such organizations as the American Red Cross and the United Negro College Fund. One advertising campaign in support of public economic education, launched in April 1976, is still going on. Among the facets of this effort, which was designed to upgrade literacy, have been the printing and distributing of 4 million booklets titled *The American Economic System;* the production of another booklet, *Productivity and Your Part in It;* and the development of an "EQ" (economic quotient) quiz. Like the materials from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, these tend to be cognitive and informational.

Commerce and Trade Associations

Materials and services from commerce and trade associations tend to vary widely according to the specialized needs of the businesses that are affiliates of the association. Strong trade associations may help structure business response, particularly that of companies which are small or which have limited resources. The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, for example, serves as a clearinghouse for facilitating a business/school relationship in which executives work with students and teachers and intern experiences are provided. Other associations address the concerns of their specialized components.

Corporations

The civic education programs sponsored by corporations are many and varied. They may be targeted toward the public, employees, stockholders, customers, governmental entities, or schools. The decision about what kind of program to implement seems to depend on the nature of the company (i.e., service or manufacturing), the interests and/or personalities of the top executives, the size of the corporation, the trade associations to which the company belongs, and the social and environmental conditions affecting the company (e.g., high crime rate, racial unrest, governmental restrictions).

Many companies disseminate documents that discuss how business operates or examine legislative programs and problem areas. One of the most-extensive support bases for programs targeted toward company employees is the Center for the Study of Private Enterprise at the University of Southern California. Under the aegis of the Center, a variety of programmatic models have been developed and field tested by such corporations as Dart Industries and Adolph Coors Co. These programs are made available to other companies, large and small. In addition, the Center provides limited support in the planning and implementation of individual corporate programs and serves as an informal clearinghouse for information about the use and availability of program materials. Future efforts of the Center are expected to involve the development of model programs dealing with "legislative key contact," "shareholders communication," and "executive spokesmanship." For

examples of documents produced by the Center, see *Employee Economic Information Program*, revised edition (Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Private Enterprise, May 1977), and *National Energy Plan*, Information Packages IA and IB (Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Private Enterprise, July 1977).

Like many other corporations, Union Carbide-Midwest has been involved in the development of nonpartisan informational materials, among them a public-affairs radio series and slide-cassette presentations. However, Union Carbide is unusual in that it has responded to the "social responsibility" aspect of corporate endeavor with some innovative proposals. In a draft article, W.M. Cheatham, regional director of public affairs for the corporation, suggested a model for individual managerial involvement in *pro bono* activity. In addition to advocating that the business sector supply money, volunteer manpower, and referral services, Cheatham urged that business/management practices be applied to programs emanating from the voluntary and governmental sectors in a way that would "fit into an overall corporate pattern of responsible citizenship" as well as provide an accountable environment in wich newly learned citizenship competencies could be assessed.[30]

Standard Oil Co. of Indiana is one of many corporations that demonstrate educational and social responsibility through encouraging employees to continue their education by paying part of their tuition and fees, providing on-the-job training courses, and supporting special training experiences for minorities and women.

Some companies demonstrate political responsibility by making available nonpartisan information about candidates for political office or by using company accounting procedures to help employees contribute to the candidates of their choice. Sun Oil Co. facilitated the establishment of 45 voluntary nonpartisan local political councils; in one recent year, 13 percent of the company's employees were active in these councils. Atlantic-Richfield's Civic Action Program is a grass-roots political action program for employees and retirees. Almost 8,000 current and former employees participate in the 40-plus CAP area committees, which sponsor meetings, candidate forums, debates, and voter registration drives.

Dow Chemical USA has prepared a booklet, *It's Your Government Too* (1975), for use in seminars designed to help employees "develop a proprietary interest in [their] government." Like most of the documents from the business sector, Dow's manual is primarily cognitive and informational. In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, such companies as Honeywell, Pillsbury, General Foods, and Northwestern Bell hire professional educators to conduct nonpartisan political action seminars for their employees.

Some companies produce materials intended for use in the public schools. Among these corporations is Standard Oil of Indiana, which makes available films, teacher's guides, spirit master worksheets, and evaluations that teachers can use to teach about such topics as economic concepts, conservation, and energy.

The citizen education efforts of the small-business sector are difficult to assess, primarily because the programs sponsored by that sector tend to be local in scope and concern. However, many small businesses participate in internship, work-study, career-awareness, and skill-building programs, and they often provide schools with material produced by trade and business-oriented associations.

Developers of Materials for K-12 Schools

One of the best known of the organizations that develop educational materials specifically aimed at students is the Joint Council on Economic Education, along with its affiliate state councils.[31] The JCEE believes that economic understanding is essential if students are to fulfill their responsibilities "as citizens and as participants in a basically private enterprise society." Although there is a strong emphasis on facts and knowledge in JCEE program goals and objectives, skill development in economic reasoning and analysis is considered equally important.

The JCEE has been active since 1948. Major elements of its present philosophy are explained in a document, *Economic Education in the Schools: A Report of the National Task Force on Economic Education* (New York: Committee on Economic Development, 1961), developed by a task force appointed by the American Economic Association in response to a suggestion by the AEA's Committee on Economic Development.

A second document, of more-recent vintage, from the JCEE is *Master Curriculum Guide in Economics for the Nation's Schools*, by W. Lee Hanson et al. (New York: Joint Council on Economic Education, 1977). This guide provides a curriculum development model that can be used by those who believe that economic literacy is a prerequisite for an informed society.

Junior Achievement, the nation's oldest youth economic education program, is a coalition of locally based organizations that operate under franchise from the national office, which provides program and promotional materials and recruits and trains staff. Funds to pay staff salaries, purchase equipment and educational materials, and maintain facilities are raised by local business communities.

Junior Achievement offers one of the few action-based educational programs for high school students. It fosters leadership, decision-making, and consensus-building skills in addition to teaching skills and knowledge that are directly related to the free-enterprise system. Other Junior Achievement programs for college, junior high, elementary, and inner-city students and for the general public focus primarily on providing economic knowledge.

An article by a prominent educator which clearly describes the symbiotic relationship between economic educators and businesses and makes a plea for the business community to involve itself in economic education in the schools is Glenn S. Dumke's "A New Dimension to Economic Education," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 42, no. 23 (September 15, 1976).

Labor

In some respects the educational programs of the labor sector are the easiest of all to deal with because they tend to be the most alike. Moreover, the audience is easy to define: labor education is typically aimed at union members.

To say this is not to imply, however, that unions are not interested in educating young people, the public, or legislators. A few unions work with the public schools, although most that do use tools other than union-sponsored educational programs to achieve their needs. Labor has always supported and promoted expanded free educational progrmas for poor

children in public school settings.[32] Unions deplore what they term "unidimensional" history textbooks that do not adequately present labor's contributions to America's development; however, few union-sponsored materials have been developed to correct these perceived deficiencies, and those materials that do exist have not been widely disseminated in the schools and community.

By the same token, little has been done by unions to educate the public in the way that business provides information for public enlightenment. Legislative voting performance data are systematically collected and made available to union members through the political action arms of the AFL/CIO (American Federation of Labor/Congress of Industrial Organizations) and its local affiliates. This service is considered political rather than educational, however, and is not even mentioned in any of the histories of labor education.

Despite the fact that foundation and government money has been used at times to support labor education, this kind of interaction is more the exception than the rule--as are joint labor/management programs. Some businesses provide tuition benefits for union employees who return to school; but, again, this is not typical. The American Friends Service Committee and the American Labor Education Service have sponsored educational programs in an attempt to make materials and information on international affairs available to trade unionists. The American Library Association has encouraged its affiliates to develop specialized library sources. The National Labor Service of the American Jewish Committee has distributed materials bearing on such questions as discrimination, prejudice, segregation, civil rights, and race relations.

The Catholic church has long been reasonably active in providing worker education. St. Francis Xavier College in New York City introduced classes for workers as early as 1911, and in 1946 more than 20 functioning schools were affiliated with the Jesuit Institute of Social Order. However, these schools, which were strongly ethical in their emphasis, were never closely allied with organized unions; and they have largely disappeared.

According to Lois Gray, metropolitan director of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, labor education is a specialized

branch of adult education--usually a noncredit service geared to mature persons and typically part of the organized labor movement. Over time, the objectives of labor education programs have included those that are (1) ideological (based on a commitment to social change), (2) institutional (designed to build organizational loyalty and patriotism, (3) professional (focused on preparation), (4) remedial (dedicated to raising the literacy level of the educationally disadvantaged), (5) cultural (concerned with life enjoyment).[35]

There are generally conceded to have been three major periods in the development of labor education in the United States, each characterized by a different programmatic emphasis and union commitment. Before the New Deal, labor education emphasized ideological and remedial objectives--social reform and the raising of the general education level. Labor education at that time was financed largely by concerned individuals and was often opposed by the American Federation of Labor.

During the New Deal and through World War II, the demands of the rapidly growing labor movement changed the emphasis of work education from social reconstruction to practical trade union training. Many unions developed training programs that operated alongside those organized under the auspices of the federal government, using relief funds.

Since World War II union programs have continued to expand, with most programs stressing institutional and professional objectives. In addition, many recent programs--particularly among those operated at universities--are broadly cultural. The universities are also providing a forum for and encouraging the trend toward academically oriented programs and expanded credentialing.

Still another characteristic of labor education which sets it apart from the educational efforts of the other sectors is that its programs tend to attract only a small percentage of union members--those in leadership positions and activists. Although a few unions sponsor special programs for new members, retirees, women, and minorities, in general little or no effort is made to provide educational opportunities for rank-and-file workers.

History and Bibliography

There are several excellent historical accounts of labor education. Among them are Joseph Mire, *Labor Education* (Madison, Wisconsin: Inter-University Labor Education Committee, 1956); Lawrence Rogin and Marjorie Rachlin, *Labor Education in the United States* (Washington: Labor Education Materials and Information Center, National Institute of Labor Education at the American University, 1968); Richard E. Dwyer, "Worker's Education, Labor Education, Labor Studies: An Historical Delineation" (*Review of Educational Research*, Winter 1977); and Ronald J. Peters and Jeanne M. McCarrick, "Roots of Public Support for Labor Education, 1900-1945" (*Labor Studies Journal* 1, no. 2 [Fall 1976]). Together, they provide an excellent background for understanding the status of labor education in the United States as well as the interrelationships and internal activities of the AFL/CIO, national unions, and their subordinate units.

The best bibliography of labor education is found in Richard Dwyer's book *Labor Education in the United States* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1977).

Union-Conducted Programs

Despite the fact that union-supported labor education is expanding, it is important to note that only a few of the 189 national unions conduct the major share of labor education programs.[36] These programs may be initiated and conducted by a union itself or sponsored jointly with a university labor education center. Programs may also be sponsored by a local union or by a subordinate unit of a national union.

The major types of programs designed for local union leadership are the short conference, the short course, and the one-week resident school. Some unions emphasize such topics as leadership skills, political action, propaganda analysis, labor's role in the community power structure, decision making, and problem solving. Others are more likely to stress skills related to bargaining and union administration.

A local union may conduct such a program independently or, more typically, with assistance from the national office. For larger local organizations and for state central bodies whose national unions do not

maintain education departments, some help in the form of materials is available from the AFL/CIO Education Department, particularly in conducting the one-week schools. According to Rogin and Rachlin,

> A manual is prepared each year for the one-week schools of some national unions and almost all of those conducted by the state central bodies. . . . The manual contains background material on the structure and operation of the AFL/CIO, with emphasis on political and legislative activity; readings on current legislative issues, both state and national; voting records; and other course reading.[37]

Attendance at a one-week school may run from 20 to 150 persons, but small classes are favored to facilitate discussion, which is the favored teaching method. Discussions may be supplemented by lectures, films, role play, and other techniques.

University-Based Programs

Nearly all of the programs conducted by university-based labor centers are run cooperatively with the labor sector--a local or group of locals, a state central body, a national union, or the national AFL/CIO. Short courses, long-term programs, one-week schools, conferences, and staff training programs are all typical formats.

The purpose of such programs, as defined in "Effective Cooperation Between Universities and Unions in Labor Education" (a statement developed by a group of union and university labor educators at a joint meeting of AFL/CIO education directors and the University Labor Education Association at Rutgers University, April 30, 1962), is "to better equip union leaders, potential leaders, and interested members as trade unionists and citizens. Education can provide training in specific skills and background knowledge which will be useful in the operation of the union and in the relationship between unions and the rest of society."

As a result of the combined impact of (1) union/university programs, (2) educational benefit plans financed by business, (3) long-term certificate courses offered by university centers, and (4) social forces that demand additional training or retraining, there is a growing demand for college credit and degree programs designed to serve union members.[38]

The long-term accredited programs, which draw heavily from the social and behavioral sciences for their content, are often focused on developing

a broader understanding of the role of the worker in a democratic society. Courses offered as part of the labor liberal arts program at Cornell's New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations are contemporary Labor Problems; Communication Skills; Labor History; Labor and the American Economy; Union Administration; Social Behavior and Work; Science, Technology, and Labor; Labor Explores the Arts; Labor Law; Collective Bargaining; Urban Problems and Unions; International Affairs and Unions; Labor, Government, and Politics; Conflict Resolution; Contemporary Black History and Literature; Health Hazards in the Workplace; and Union Stake in Health Planning. The curriculum of the Union Leadership Academy, which involves three universities, includes Labor Leadership, Trade Union Administration, Labor Law, Labor and the Economy, Labor and the Government, Labor and Society, Theories of the Labor Movement, Contemporary Problems, and Trade Union History.

Another phenomenon in labor education is the tremendous growth in community-college labor education programs. While many of these are aimed at apprenticeship training or skills upgrading, others provide educational opportunities designed to enrich individual growth and civic competence. Programs of the latter type were instituted in response to demands by both students and unions. One of their objectives, according to a statement issued by the United Auto Workers, is "to equip members of labor organizations with technical skills and social understanding needed to exercise their union and civic responsibility."[39]

The content and format of university and community-college offerings seems to fall somewhere between traditional academic content and the approaches used in short courses and one-week resident schools. Most of the students in these programs are mature, part time, and task oriented. The content of university labor education courses, in which knowledge and skill objectives are emphasized, is often drawn from the social and behavioral sciences; discussion, rather than lecture, seems to be the dominant mode of delivery.

An excellent discussion of the relationship of education to the workplace and the prospects of community-college involvement can be found in William L. Abbott's paper "The Future of Education and Work" (presented at a labor educator's symposium at the Community College of Allegheny County on May 21, 1977).

Community Service Involvement

One important aspect of union activity which is not treated in the literature as education per se but which has an important bearing on the civic function of unionism is community-service involvement. Two assumptions underlie this kind of involvement. The first is that unions have a responsibility for helping workers with problems outside the workplace. The second is "that unionists as citizens are concerned with the quality and scope of services in a community and that the union provides an organized vehicle to focus and express this concern."[40]

The programs structured by the AFL/CIO Community Services Department are intended to stimulate the active participation of unionists in community affairs and to develop strong relationships between unions and social agencies. The specific responsibilities assumed by this department are to

> encourage equitable labor representation on social agency boards and committees; stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs; plan for union participation in such activities as disaster services and civilian defense; work with community groups in developing such health programs as blood banks; coordinate fund drives; develop programs for periods of strike and unemployment; stimulate the development of community programs in wide areas of social need; and develop educational programs for unionists around these functions.[41]

The educational aspects of union community-service activities are focused on extensive training sessions (conferences and short courses) designed to prepare local union activists to run community programs. The content of these sessions deals with both knowledge and process--how to work effectively with people (counsel) and how to train. As is the case with general worker education, those workers who tend to participate are activists, not rank-and-file members. However, the voluntary activities promoted by the various community-service agencies are performed by the union membership at large. A rationale for participation in union-sponsored community service can be found in the AFL/CIO booklet *To Know, To Use, To Serve, To Support, To Improve: Five Objectives* (Washington: AFL/CIO Department of Community Services, n.d.).

Future efforts in worker education will probably be concentrated in three areas of concern: (1) to better prepare workers to cope with the

pace of social change, (2) to develop programs that will be more likely to involve the rank-and-file membership, and (3) to encourage stronger commitment to community and political action. Many community colleges and universities are now engaged in designing programs to address these needs.[42]

Thoughtful discussions of the broad aspects of worker education, especially as it is related to civic competence and participation, are found in two chapters of *Labor's Public Responsibility* (Madison, Wisconsin: National Institute of Labor Education [NILE], 1960): Alice Hanson Cook's "Education of Workers for Public Responsibility in Community and Political Affairs" and Ben D. Segal's "The Educational Implications of Labor's Public Responsibility in Public Affairs, Civil Liberties, Civil Rights, and International Affairs." A third source is Barbara Wertheimer's article "Blueprint for Community Action: A Suggested Frontier for Worker's Education," which appeared in the December 1961 issue of *Adult Leadership*, the NILE journal.

The Voluntary Sector

Estimates of how many Americans are in one way or another engaged in volunteer activities range from 25 percent to 30 percent of the population. While the exact number may be unknown, it is apparent to all observers that volunteerism (which Harriet H. Naylor describes as "persons organized to work together toward goals which a group shares"[43]) is both growing and changing in character.

Dr. Ronald Lippitt, president of the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars, believes that the changes in the character of volunteerism derive from the same societal trends that are confounding citizen educators. Lippitt suggests that people are motivated by five main factors to seek out voluntary organizations: (1) the difficulty of finding meaningful and satisfying paid work; (2) concern about the environment and quality of life; (3) the need for interpersonal contact and involvement; (4) the wish to have a share in power, "a piece of the action"; and (5) the desire to confront and transcend ethnic, social, economic, generational, or professional differences.[44]

Volunteer efforts range from the action-oriented to the service-oriented, from national, long-term projects to local, *ad hoc* activities. Although we find considerable overlapping of efforts in the other sectors (with business contributing to the pool of curriculum materials used in the schools, for example), such overlapping is so pronounced in volunteerism that it may be one of the sector's most salient characteristics. Business people, union representatives, educators, the clergy--all serve on boards, raise funds, and participate in a variety of voluntary endeavors. Also important, as Wilbur Cohen has noted, is the fact that

> today, voluntary organizations are getting their members from many new sources. In the past, minority groups and low-income persons have been pretty much left out of volunteer work; but they too are now being encouraged to actively participate. It has been found that volunteer activity can be carried out on many levels, depending on the qualifications of the interested individual and the job to be done. *In many cases, volunteer service can upgrade a person's skill if it is accompanied by training. It's particularly valuable for young persons in preparation for responsible citizenship* as well as a testing ground for subsequent careers. Volunteer services can also reach out to the retired professional who can contribute highly trained skills.[45]

Thus it seems safe to assert that, although the other sectors are disparate in the citizen education projects they undertake and there is great diversity in the products they develop, the voluntary sector tends to produce the most disparate and diverse results of all. Counterbalancing this tendency are the recent efforts to professionalize the paid staff of voluntary organizations, to provide educational opportunities and programs for both volunteers and staff, to build networks among volunteer groups, and to develop clearinghouses and a literature.

Among the best general literature on the voluntary sector are three documents that provide a framework for understanding the scope and dimensions of volunteerism. The first, *The Report of the First National Conference on Education for Voluntary Action* (Ann Arbor, Michigan; October 21-24, 1973), includes statements from many persons active in this sector along with learning resources and recommendations.

The other two documents are books. *Leadership for Volunteering*, by Harriet H. Naylor (New York: Dryden Associates, 1976), presents a series of keynote speeches and seminar presentations based on more than

30 years' experience in international volunteer work. *The Volunteer Community: Creative Use of Human Resources*, second edition, by Eva Schindler-Rainman and Ronald Lippitt (Boulder, Colorado: Volunteer, 1975), discusses the relationship of volunteerism to democracy, summarizes social trends, and explores goals, methods, and training designs.

Schindler-Rainman and Lippitt have also contributed a useful article about the ways in which volunteerism can (and probably will) enhance citizen education efforts ("Can Volunteerism Renew Democracy?" in the Winter 1977 issue of *Voluntary Action Leadership*, the journal of the National Center for Voluntary Action). This article, adapted from a paper presented at the Silver Anniversary Meeting of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus of America, focuses on six major themes of national life as they are related to volunteerism. Each theme is viewed in the context of past, present, and possible future conditions in order to obtain a perspective for making action decisions.

General Volunteer Organizations

Just as there is a general literature that transcends particular voluntary activities, there are general volunteer organizations. These include the National Center for Voluntary Action, the National Information Center on Volunteerism, and the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars. Each of these organizations publishes, provides linking services, develops materials, engages in research, and provides consultants and/or trainers. One of the periodicals available from the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars, *Citizen Participation and Voluntary Action Abstract*, would be particularly useful to citizen educators.

The League of Women Voters is an example of a well-established (founded in 1920) voluntary organization that has concentrated over the years on one major mission--encouraging individuals to work together to achieve open and accountable government that is responsive to citizens' needs. Although the League is nonpartisan in the sense that it supports neither parties nor candidates, it does take issue positions based on a study-and-consensus process. Once issues have been identified and positions legitmized by the membership, the organization lobbies,

participates in letter-writing campaigns, publishes fact sheets, testifies at legislative and administrative hearings, monitors elections and government activities, and sometimes goes to court. The national office of the League provides its membership with a variety of literature containing suggestions for implementing these citizen actions. In addition, all levels of League membership--local, state, and national--develop informational materials for dissemination to schools and to the general public. Two typical League publications are "The Politics of Energy," an article that appeared in the Summer 1977 issue of the League magazine, *The National Voter*, and *The Wisconsin Legislature: In Session and Out* (Madison, Wisconsin: League of Women Voters of Wisconsin, May 1977).

Community Organizations

Another kind of voluntary effort, one of relatively recent origin, is the neighborhood/community association. According to Edward Schwartz, director of the Institute for the Study of Civic Values, many neighborhoods have organized in an effort to combat powerlessness. Such groups often are single-issue-oriented and many have relatively few available resources in terms of information, expertise, power, or money--a fact that has, in turn, led to the growth of training centers for community organizations. Saul Alinsky's book *Reveille for Radicals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) offers insights into this development.

In *Perspectives on Citizen Education*, edited by Paul R. Levy (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Civic Values, 1977), Schwartz notes that many training centers are springing up to complement the Industrial Area Foundation in Chicago (Alinsky's organi .tion):

> In Chicago itself, a group called the National Training Center runs week-long crash courses in how to gain power in local neighborhoods, at the same time as it supports a national network of groups called National People's Action that has led important fights against redlining by banks and for federal community development programs responsive to neighborhoods. Also in Chicago is Heather Booth's Midwest Academy with ties to labor and political movements, as well as connections with community organizations that see themselves as pursuing the values of the movements of the 1960s. The Martin Luther King Center in Atlanta has emerged as a major source for training in non-violence and citizen action for the entire South; while the New England Training Center

is serving a similar role in New England. These are just a few examples, but they are extremely important.[46]

The Levy book, a collection of readings on civic education, is useful in that it provides a wide variety of perspectives on the topic. Other works by Schwartz that offer a good undertstanding of this type of voluntary organization are *Growing Up Powerless: The Case for Political Education* (New York: David McKay, 1978) and *The Institute Papers: Toward a Recovery of Civic Idealism* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Civic Values, 1975). Schwartz is listed as editor of the latter book.

The programs and practices of neighborhood organizations tend to be skill-oriented and experience-based. While the training academies offer support in establishing knowledge bases, the modus operandi is doing and acting. In addition, the academies emphasize values (justice, equality, freedom) and moral commitment.

Foundations

A final group of voluntary associations--one that fits only roughly into this sector because of its close ties with both business and academia--is that of the foundations. The kinds of program many of the foundations support and their willingness (and ability) to risk resources on innovative programs indicate that most of the foundations are not captives of any interest group or sector.

For years foundation money has supported a variety of citizen education efforts. In the 1950s the Carnegie Foundation provided money for the development of the Citizen Education Project at Columbia University; the Danforth Foundation supported the National Council for the Social Studies in identifying and compiling a list of "promising practices in the making of citizens"; and the Hazen Foundation subsidized the publication of *Perspectives on Citizen Education*, to name a few programs already discussed.

Other recent activities of the foundations span a wide range of citizen education goals. For example, in 1975 a consortium composed of the Student Advisory Committee on International Affairs (which received support from the Rockefeller Foundation), International Business Machines'

University Relations Program, the Institute for World Order, the World Federalist Educational Fund, the Chase Manhattan Foundation, the Rosenhaus Peace Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation worke together to develop a program centered on the concept of student/public dialogues on international issues. Duri•g these dialogues, participants from labor, business, churches, profe .onal associations, and educational groups met with university students in workshop settings to discuss and debate issues. For an account of this program, see *Organizing for Community Education on International Issues*, edited by Grif Lesher (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1975).

The following list of citizenship-related objectives identified by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation (obtained from its 1976 Annual Report) indicates the extent to which that foundation is involved in citizen education:

International Affairs
--To apply IGE (Individually Guided Education) concepts to global education.
--To support the international education sub-study of the Study of Schooling.
--To conduct controlled research on increasing community/international awareness.
--To support planning and evaluation of a community education program on the role of women in development.
--To conduct and report on public opinion surveys for foreign policy "town meetings" with U.S. State Department representatives.

Education
--To prepare models and data collection instruments for school/community relations.
--To establish a national task force to analyze and report on citizenship education.
--To distribute educational materials to the public and profession.

Urban Affairs
--To develop processes for acquiring and utilizing data for citizen involvement in dealing with disinvestment.
--To conduct a pilot project to identify patterns of participation and coalition building.
--To prepare a guidebook for effective citizen involvement procedures.
--To support production of video-tape analysis of the patterns of participation and coalition building.
--To develop a video-tape process for inquiry into community-based citizen involvement programs.
--To establish a Citizen Involvement Network.[47]

The Danforth Foundation has been an equally active proponent of citizen involvement. Danforth money has supported, along with other projects, the development of innovative and exciting programs in legal and ethical/moral education.

These two foundations, alarmed by the "erosion of the values and attitudes of young people, the serious and continuing pressures on family life, the rising rage of juvenile crime and the increasing violence of crimes committed by teen-agers, and the general alienation of people from their institutions," joined forces in 1975 to sponsor a study of the status of citizenship education in the schools and to make recommendations for improvement. A national task force under the direction of Dr. B. Frank Brown was appointed to conduct this study. Many observers feel that the report issued by that task force, *Education for Responsible Citizenship* (Chicago: McGraw-Hill, 1978), represents the kind of reconceptualization of citizen education that educators have been calling for.

Conclusions

Most educators agree that citizen education ideally should be a blend of learning experiences designed to increase competence in four areas: knowledge, skills, attitudes, and participation. Unless varied opportunities are provided for students to grow in all these areas, it is unlikely that they will be able to function as responsible, valuable citizens.

Our examination of documents from the various sectors of society indicates that each sector tends to emphasize one or two of these learning areas at the expense of the others. This generalization holds least true for the voluntary sector, whose materials and programs are fairly evenly distributed across the spectrum of learning areas. Yet even in that sector experience-based educational opportunities, in which day-to-day behavior is modeled and emphasized, tend to be dominant.

The table below illustrates our impression of the program emphasis of each sector. The sectors are rated in each area on a scale of 1-4, with 1 indicating maximum emphasis and 4 indicating minimum emphasis.

	Knowledge	Skills	Attitudes	Participation
Education	1	2	3	4
Business	1	3	2	4
Labor	2	1	3	4
Voluntary	4	2	3	1

The implication of the findings illustrated by this table is clear: If we are to achieve a broadly conceptualized national effort in citizen education, one of two things must happen--either each sector must be assigned the primary responsibility for providing one or two components of this effort, or all sectors must redesign their programs to include all four components.

Neither of these two options would be easy to operationalize. Both options would demand continued dialogue *between* sectors, further searching *within* each sector for creative program models, and more willingness *among* all sectors to cooperate with one another. Finally, any attempt to undertake such an ambitious reorganization effort would require a renewed commitment by government at all levels to facilitate coordination and provide monetary support.

Related Readings in the ERIC System

Described in this section are journal articles and papers in the ERIC system related to citizenship education.

These items were identified through a computer search of the ERIC data base. We requested all items indexed under both of two descriptors: *citizenship* and *citizenship education* at the elementary or secondary level. These two resources--*Current Index to Journals in Education* (*CIJE*) and *Resources in Education* (*RIE*)--were searched in July 1977. Only a few selected documents from this search, which yielded approximately 200 items, are discussed here. Readers wishing to obtain either the full list of items or a computer-search update of the list which includes items put into ERIC since July 1977 should contact the User Services Program of ERIC/ChESS, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

To obtain copies of the journal articles (identified by an EJ number preceding the title), readers should use their local library or contact the journal's main office.

Other documents (indicated by ED numbers) are available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Microfiche (MF) or photo copies (HC) of these documents may be obtained by writing to EDRS, Computer Microfilm International Corporation, P.O. Box 190, Arlington, Virginia 22210. All orders should refer to the ED number and must be accompanied by prepayment, including postage. (Fourth-class postage for the first 60 MF or 60 HC pages is $0.30; add $0.11 for each additional 60 MF or HC pages. One MF contains 96 pages.) For those documents that are only (or also) available from a publisher or other source, ordering addresses and prices are given.

If there is an ERIC microfiche collection in a nearby university library or school resource center, readers might prefer to look over specific documents there before (or instead of) ordering from EDRS. To obtain a list of the locations of ERIC microfiche collections, write to the User Services Program of ERIC/ChESS.

Journal Articles

EJ 052 506. "Concerning the Matter of Activism in Social Studies Education," by John Jarolimek. *Social Education* 36, no. 2 (February 1972), pp. 149-155.

Jarolimek's article is focused on social participation, one of the four components of social studies education. In his view, social studies teachers must not only explain how our social system works but also show students how to become thoughtful and informed social critics, how to participate in democratic processes, how to become involved, how to be effective activists, and how to demonstrate responsible concern for improving the system.

EJ 131 877. "A Study of Student Perceptions of Civic Education," by Arlene K. Richard and John P. DeCecco. *Journal of Social Issues* 31, no. 2 (Spring 1975), pp. 111-122.

These authors describe and analyze students' perceptions of high school governance in order to provide a basis for comparing the ideals with the practice of civic education. Students' statements about actual incidents involving problems in high school governance are analyzed in terms of concepts from political science and psychology.

EJ 140 304. "Evaluating Student Involvement as a Technique for Improving Citizenship Education," by Ruth S. Jones. *Theory and Research in Social Education* 3, no. 1 (December 1975), pp. 73-78.

This study examines the influence of student community involvement on the level of student interest in social and political activities.

EJ 131 669. "Leadership in Citizenship," by Leon Jaworski. *Today's Education* 64, no. 1 (January/February 1975), pp. 54-55, 58-59.

This article states that the schools throughout the country need to institute expanded and improved programs of education in the fundamentals of law in a free society and in the responsibilities of leadership. Reactions are also included.

EJ 133 592. "Open Schools and Citizenship Education Through Involvement in the Community," by Susan Stillman and Barbara Jordan. *Social Education* 40, no. 3 (March 1976), pp. 168-177.

This article examines how the objectives of open schools and those of contemporary social studies are similar in trying to make the individual a functioning member of society at a high level of participation. The authors offer suggestions for guiding children in learning activities that emerge from their own interests and for using the community as a resource and laboratory.

EJ 143 803. "Politics: A Need and Danger for Education," by Jean Caprille. *Oxford Review of Education* 2, no. 2 (1976), pp. 157-160.

The author of this article believes that the fusion of politics and education, which is both necessary and dangerous, constitutes both a problem and a challenge for educators who are trying to provide equality of opportunity and train responsible citizens.

EJ 131 640. "Criteria for New Approaches to Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools," by Richard C. Remy. *DEA News* 8 (Winter 1976), pp. 9-16.

This issue of the newsletter of the American Political Science Association presents criteria for new approaches to citizenship education in elementary schools. Included are examples from a curriculum project, Citizenship Decision-Making: Instructional Materials for Grades 4, 5, 6, developed at the Mershon Center of Ohio State University.

EJ 150 724. "Citizenship as the Aim of the Social Studies," by Arthur W. Foshay and William W. Burton. *Theory and Research in Social Education* 4, no. 2 (December 1976), pp. 1-22.

Two criteria for social studies programs are presented here: (1) they should deal directly with the concept of justice and (2) they should provide for the direct practice of citizenship. Four texts are examined against these criteria. Finally, the article describes a hypothetical program that meets the criteria.

Documents

ED 110 369. *The Problem of Citizenship Training in the Age of Aquarius* (Montpelier, Vermont: State Department of Education, 1973), 15 pp. Pages 15-28 and p. 31 of the original document are copyrighted and therefore not available; they are not included in the pagination. EDRS price: MF $0.83; HC $1.67 plus postage.

This paper attempts to aid Vermont educators in reexamining traditional education practices designed to foster responsible citizenship behavior patterns and in establishing basic directions for new programs and procedures. An outline of the behavioral objectives and goals of a new citizenship program in Vermont is presented as an exemplary model.

It is the position of this paper that responsible behavior must be considered within the context of democracy, defined both as a basis of government and as a way of conducting human relationships. Because the educational system has not responded swiftly enough to the need for preparing responsible citizens, the schools must improve their own performance in the following three areas: equiping students with the kinds of skill and knowledge necessary to operate within the system; providing the decision-making experiences necessary for the development of mature behavior patterns; and instilling the attitudes of responsibility and restraint which undergird democratic citizenship.

The paper also argues that schools need to improve their teaching democracy. The basic difference between the old way and the new way, the authors suggest, lies in the recognition that democracy is a process, not just a body of knowledge; that it draws heavily on all disciplines; and that the values that guide behavior in responsible ways should be based on personal discovery of the validity of substantive values.

ED 129 693. *Voluntary Associations and the American Political Process: Student Book*, by Maureen S. Sheehy. A product of the Lavinia and Charles P. Schwartz Citizenship Project (Chicago: University of Chicago Graduate School of Education, 1974), 62 pp. EDRS price: MF $0.83; HC $3.50 plus postage.

This curriculum unit on citizenship education examines some of the voluntary associations that Americans join to accomplish certain objectives. The purpose of the unit is to show students how associations take positions on issues, such as reforming Congress or amnesty, and how they work to affect government policies. With this background, it is hoped students can become more effective members of the groups they join because they will be better able to analyze a group's purposes, operations, and effectiveness. After briefly discussing the historical background of voluntary associations, political participation, and power, the unit reviews four specific organizations: the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, the American Legion, and the American Friends Committee on National Legislation.

ED 129 692. *Business and the American Political Process* (student book and teacher's guide), by William D. Rader. A product of the Lavinia and Charles P. Schwartz Citizenship Project (Chicago: University of Chicago Graduate School of Education, 1973), 60 pp. EDRS price: MF $0.83; HC $3.50 plus postage.

This curriculum unit for citizenship education is concerned with how American business influences government and Congressional economic and tax policies. The materials deal with aspects of business and economic affairs from the perspective of civics and citizenship education. The emphasis is on business and political issues and priorities that bear on public and private finance, rather than on budgets and fiscal matters. It is hoped that students will thus gain a better understanding and working knowledge of business, political science, and economics.

The unit examines some of the major relationships between the business community and public spending in addition to discussing government services, allocation of resources and income, cost and benefit determination, and taxes. Such related civics questions as those dealing with lobbying activities and campaign expenditures are also addressed. Included in the text is a case study of the issues and problems surrounding the enactment of a state income tax law in Illinois. Interactions between city governments and the federal government which involve political and economic pressures are also discussed, along with the source of

a city's right to govern, pressure groups, lobbyists in Washington, and election finance. The accompanying teacher's guide provides suggestions and opportunities for inquiry, additional research, and in-depth discussion of the concepts and questions found in the materials.

ED 135 688. *Key Issues and Problems in Developing New National Policy for Civic Education,* by Logan H. Sallada. Paper presented at the National Conference on Citizen Education (Kansas City, Missouri: September 20-23, 1976), 13 pp. EDRS price: MF $0.83; HC $1.67 plus postage.

The role of the federal government in civic/citizenship education is discussed in this paper. The author argues that the erosion of such traditional socializing institutions as the family and the church has diminished their influence on civic education and that there is a need to reconceptualize the socialization process.

According to Sallada, four factors impede the socialization of responsible citizens: increasing mobility, the depersonalizing influence of television, the impersonality of the political environment, and increasing reliance on technical inventions and mechanical solutions. The role of the federal government in creating better citizenship education should be that of a catalytic agent for the efforts of community members, parents, teachers, and school administrators.

The author's suggestions for improving citizenship education are generally focused on teaching basic skills and inculcating a sense of responsibility. Model programs would be aimed at instilling an awareness of what it means to be an American, a sense of national community within a global context, and a revitalized sense of place. Curriculum materials gathered from the social sciences and from ethnic education, would stress a global and multicultural approach. The development of indexes for national assessment of citizenship by the Citizen Education Task Force of the federal government is also discussed.

ED 132 079. *Education for Citizenship: A Bicentennial Survey. User Manual.* Developed by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Denver: Education Commission of the States, October 1976), 100 pp. EDRS price: MF $0.83; HC $4.67 plus postage.

Procedures for assessing citizenship education among 13-year-old and 17-year-old students are outlined in this document, which was designed to be used by the more than 1,600 school districts and school personnel responsible for conducting assessments using the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) guidelines. The manual analyzes the asesssment process, tasks, and results The topics discussed in its 12 chapters include (1) looking at requirements for replicating the NAEP survey and setting an assessment schedule; (2) selecting students to be assessed; (3) performing preassessment tasks, assessment tasks, and postassessment tasks; (4) scoring assessment booklets; and (5) analyzing results and comparing them with NAEP data. Teachers are instructed to follow manual directions closely, so that differences between individual students and the national sample will be "real" rather than the result of inconsistent assessment procedures. The five appendices contain a discussion on survey sampling; scoring guides; assessment questions, answers, themes, and objectives; citizenship objectives; and definitions of NAEP reporting groups.

ED 135 705. *Education for Citizenship: A Bicentennial Survey. A Citizenship/Social Studies Report.* Issued by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Denver: Education Commission of the States, November 1976), 44 pp. Also available from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402 ($1.20, paperbound). EDRS price: MF $0.83; HC $2.06 plus postage.

A survey of student attitudes and knowledge vis-a-vis the American political system is presented in this report. Student performance in the areas of social behavior, political attitudes, political knowledge, and political education is described for 13-year-olds and 17-year-olds according to seven variables: geographical region, sex, race, parental education, size and type of community, educational preparation, and political interest.

The first chapter presents an overview of survey results. (In general, the findings of this survey indicate that 13-year-olds and 17-year-olds express similar social and political attitudes, respect human rights, and favor political participation.) The second chapter defines

the variables and describes the conventions used to report the data. Social attitudinal trends--among them opposition to discrimination, support for equal housing opportunities, and racial trust--are described in chapter three. An assessment of political attitudes is included in chapter four. Knowledge of criminal rights, the role of the courts, constitutional rights, presidential power, government functions, political parties, the United Nations, and methods of changing laws is measured in chapter five. The final chapter discusses political education in the schools. The overall conclusion that can be drawn from the survey is that course work in civics is an important factor influencing student performance and interest.

Notes

1. Byron G. Massialas, "Citizenship and Political Socialization," in Robert G. Ebel, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 124. Emphasis added.

2. Fred M. Newmann, "Building a Rationale for Civic Education," in James P. Shaver, ed., *Building Rationales for Citizenship Education*, Bulletin 52 of the National Council for the Social Studies (Arlington, Virginia: NCSS, 1977), pp. 8-9.

3. R. Freeman Butts, "Education for Citizenship: The Oldest, Newest Innovation in the Schools," *Vital Issues* 26, no. 8, p. 1. (*Vital Issues* is the newsletter published by the Center for Information on America, Washington, Connecticut.)

4. In his critique of a draft of this essay, R. Freeman Butts suggested that our definition of *citizen* was too broad, and that the word could be more usefully defined to mean "a responsible member of the political community." It is Butts' view that unless the term is thus limited, almost any topic could validly be called "citizen education."

Another reader, John D. Haas, remarked that there were difficulties inherent in defining "the ideal citizen" too narrowly. Haas believes that if all members of a national society were to behave in an identical mode, the result would be anarchy, total conformity, or disintegration.

5. For a study that links theoretical models to the examination of civic education in the schools, see Edgar Litt, "Education and Political Enlightenment in America," *Annals of the Academy of Political Social Science* 361 (1965), pp. 32-39. For treatments that examine the relationships of other variables to the acquisition of political values, see, for example, David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," ibid., pp. 40-65; M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Family Structures and the Transmission of Political Values," *American Political Science Review*, March 1968; and Kenneth P. Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process," ibid., September 1967. Two more general and recent documents on political socialization are Richard E. Dawson, Kenneth Prewitt, and Karen S. Dawson, *Political Socialization*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977); and Stanley Allen Renshon, ed., *Handbook of Political Socialization* (New York: Free Press, 1977).

6. Richard C. Remy, in a draft of *Citizen Education Today: Report of the Task Force on Citizen Education* (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, forthcoming). This report was prepared by the National Center for Voluntary Action for the Citizen Education Staff of the Office of Education.

7. It was our original intent to include references drawn from the religious sector, on the basis of our belief that moral and ethical training does and should constitute a major component of citizen education. However, although many religious leaders suggested documents for consideration, we were unable to locate and identify sufficient resources to attempt a comprehensive treatment of this sector's influence. The same limitation precluded our surveying the literature issued by government agencies. Inasmuch as both these sectors clearly engage in education efforts and impact upon the attitudes and responses of citizens, an examination should be made of their literature. Unhappily, such an examination transcends the scope of this paper.

8. An excellent analysis and critique of the revisionist works cited and others of the genre can be found in R. Freeman Butts, "Once Again the Question for Liberal Public Educators: Whose Twilight?," *Phi Delta Kappan* 58, no. 1 (September 1976), pp. 4-14.

9. Bernard Crick, *The American Science of Politics: Its Origins and Conditions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), p. 3. Emphasis in the original.

10. For examples of documents that advocate teaching students the skills of the historian and social scientist, see Committee of Ten, *Report of the Committee on Secondary Schools Appointed at the Meeting of the National Education Association, July 9, 1892* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893); and American Council of Learned Societies/National Council for the Social Studies (ACLS/NCSS), *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1962).

11. Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), pp. 1-15.

12. Anna Haddow, *Political Science in American Colleges and Universities: 1636 to 1900* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1939), pp. 128-130.

13. Arguments for the core curriculum concept can be found in two of Dewey's works, *Democracy and Education* (1916) and *Experience and Education* (1939), and in Harold Alberty's *Reorganizing the High-School Curriculum* (1947). All three books were published in New York by Macmillan.

More information about the Citizen Education Project, which was subsidized by the Carnegie Foundation, can be found in the project report, *Planning a Laboratory Practice* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955).

14. National Education Association, *Learning the Ways of Democracy* (N.p.: NEA, 1940).

15. Butts, "Education for Citizenship," p. 5.

16. Hazel W. Hertzberg, *Historical Parallels for the Sixties and Seventies: Primary Sources and Core Curriculum Revisited* (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium and ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education [ED 051 066], 1971).

17. Roy Amara suggests that the costs incurred as a result of societal overcomplexity depend on how quickly and effectively changes can be made along three crucial fronts: the cognitive, the participative, and the perceptual. The issues he addresses under *cognitive* are change, growth, and complexity; those under *participative* are governance, equity, and work; and those under *perceptual* are interdependence, views of humankind, and images of the future. See his article "Education for Survival: Some Necessary Cognitive, Participative, and Perceptual Changes for America's Third Century" in *Phi Delta Kappan* 58, no. 1 (September 1976), pp. 91-98.

18. *Citizen Education Today*, p. 13.

19. Similar recommendations for teaching civics in high school can be found in Charles G. Haines, *The Teaching of Government: Report to the American Political Science Association by the Committee on Instruction* (New York: Macmillan, 1916).

20. See "Toward a Reconceptualization of Citizenship Education," the report of a conference sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies on March 20-21, 1976, at Indianapolis.

21. Helen McCracken Carpenter also writes about skills for democratic citizenship in *Skill Development in the Social Studies* (1963),

the 33rd Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.

22. This document is especially interesting when viewed in the light of some of the concerns stated by Remy in *Citizen Education Today*.

23. Newmann, "Building a Rationale."

24. See also Committee of Ten, "Report of the Committee on Secondary Schools."

25. Newmann, "Building a Rationale," p. 13.

26. In a letter to the author dated September 14, 1977.

27. Although the JCEE is actually supported jointly by the business, labor, and academic communities, it is included in this section because the influence of business is dominant.

28. The Clergy Economic Education Foundation is one example of an intersectoral education effort.

29. As is also the case with other sectors, there is much overlap in the intended audiences for the educational efforts promulgated by the business community. Attempts to link business and education, for example, are found in publications issued by such groups as the National Association for Industry-Education Cooperation.

30. W.M. Cheatham, "Beyond Philanthropy and Toward a More Ascertainable Precision of Commitment for the Independent Sector" (unpublished paper; Chicago: n.d.).

31. See note 27.

32. For example, the Knights of Labor stressed education as a major means of emancipating the working class. See Lawrence Rogin, "Changes During Labor Education's 43 Years," in *Labor Education Viewpoints*, a mimeographed bulletin issued in 1959 by Worker's Education Local 189, American Federation of Teachers, AFL/CIO.

33. Joseph Mire, *Labor Education* (Madison, Wisconsin: Inter-University Labor Education Committee, 1956).

34. Ronald J. Peters and Jeanne M. McCarrick, "Roots of Public Support for Labor Education, 1900-1945," *Labor Studies Journal* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1976), p. 123.

35. Lois Gray, "The American Way in Labor Education," *Industrial Relations* 5, no. 2, pp. 53-54.

36. Lawrence Rogin and Marjorie Rachlin, *Labor Education in the United States* (Washington: Labor Education Materials and Information Center, National Institute of Labor Education at the American University, 1968), p. 31.

37. Ibid., p. 74.

38. Lois Gray, "Labor Studies Credit and Degree Programs: A Growth Sector of Higher Education," *Labor Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (May 1976). In 1975 about 50 college-credit certificate and degree programs were offered by 43 institutions, with more than 6,000 students enrolled.

39. Cited in George V. Boyle, "Goals of Unions and Universities in Labor Education," *Labor Studies Journal* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1976), p. 157.

40. Rogin and Rachlin, *Labor Education*, p. 105.

41. *Guidelines to the AFL/CIO Community Service Program* (Washington: AFL/CIO Department of Community Services, 1966), pp. 1-2. Cited in Rogin and Rachlin, p. 106.

42. See, for example, Helmut J. Golatz, "Labor Studies: New Kid on Campus," *Labor Education Journal* 2 no. 1 (Spring 1977); and William L. Abbott, *The New Worker Education* (Washington: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, August 1977).

43. Harriet H. Naylor, speech presented at the Workshop on Volunteer Staff Relations, February 25, 1969.

44. Paraphrased from Ronald Lippitt, "Implications for Educational Programs for Voluntary Action: Images of the Future," in *Report of the First National Conference on Education for Voluntary Action* (Ann Arbor, Michigan; October 21-24, 1973), pp. 34-35. The government has also influenced the development of voluntary activity by supporting various agencies with grants or on a contractual basis. The Harris Amendment of 1967, the Social Security Act, and the Voluntary Services Act of 1973 (which legitimized ACTION) have mandated in some degree the participation of volunteers in the delivery of services.

45. Wilbur J. Cohen, "The Role of the Volunteer in Modern Society," ibid., p. 76. Emphasis added.

46. Edward Schwartz, "Adult Political Participation in the Anti-Political System," in Paul R. Levy, ed., *Perspectives on Citizen Education* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Civic Values, 1977), p. 13.

47. Charles F. Kettering Foundation, *1976 Annual Report* (Dayton, Ohio: 1976).

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David Dobie, Public Affairs Division, Interlake

J.W. Gendron, Senior Vice-President of the Public Affairs Division, Atlantic Richfield Company

Daniel S. Hirshfield, Assistant Director of Corporate Communications, Union Carbide Corporation

John L. Holcomb, Director of the Resource Center, Foundation for Public Affairs

Terri Jonisch, Civic Action Program, Atlantic Richfield Company

Virginia Croft Lopez, Director of Publications and Public Information, Vocational Industrial Clubs of America

Richard Maxwell, President, Junior Achievement, Inc.

David O'Connell, Executive Director, Union Concerns Workshops

Carl Shafter, Manager of Public Affairs, Dow Chemical USA

Martin J. Shallenberger, Public Affairs Representative, Standard Oil Company (Indiana) and Amoco Subsidiaries

Ralph Springer, Director of Special Projects, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry

Edward J. Stapleton, Director of Special Projects, American Advertising Council

John D. Sullivan, Director for Interpreting Business and Economic Education Activities, Public Affairs Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States

Stowell Symmes, Director of Curriculum, Joint Council on Economic Education

Jane M. Work, Director of Organization Liaison, National Association of Manufacturers

Labor

William L. Abbott, Director of the Service Center for Community College-Labor Union Cooperation, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges

Richard E. Dwyer, Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University

Richard Graham, United States Department of Labor

Alice M. Hoffman, Professor, Department of Labor Studies, Pennsylvania State University

John J. McManus, Assistant Director of the Department of Community Services, American Federation of Labor/Congress of Industrial Organizations

Horst A. Reschke, Director, Union Label and Public Relations Bureau, International Typographical Union

Lawrence Rogin, Senior Staff Associate, George Meany Center for Labor Studies

Carl J. Thul, Education Director, United Autcmobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America--UAW, Region 9

Alfred L. Wickman, Assistant to the Director, Center for Labor Education and Research, University of Colorado

Religion

John Carr, Coordinator for Special Issues, Office of Domestic Social Development, Department of Social Development and World Peace, United States Catholic Conference

J. Blaine Fister, Coordinator of Education for Christian Life and Mission, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

W. Kent Gilbert, Executive Director of the Division for Parish Services, Lutheran Church in America, Wisconsin Council of Churches

Theresa Hoover, Associate General Secretary of the Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church

Francis Lally, Department of Social Development and World Peace, United States Catholic Conference

Luther E. Lindberg, Assistant Executive Director, Lutheran Church in America

William N. Lovell, Executive Director, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

William T. McKee, Executive Secretary, Educational Ministries, American Baptist Churches, USA

John F. Meyers, President, National Catholic Educational Association

Miriam Parsell, Librarian, The United Mission Library, United Methodist Church and United Presbyterian Church in the USA

Jovelino Ramos, Executive Director of the Commission on Justice, Liberation, and Human Fulfillment, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA

Alice H. Wimer, International Affairs Executive, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

Voluntary Sector

Geraldine Bagby, Vice-President, Danforth Foundation

B. Frank Brown, Director of the National Task Force for Citizenship Education, IDEA

Darby Cassidy, Librarian, National Information Center on Volunteerism

Ronald Lippitt, President, Association of Voluntary Action Scholars

Virginia Croft Lopez, Director of Publications and Public Information, Vocational Industrial Clubs of America

James H. Mann, Communication Project Coordinator, Charles F. Kettering Foundation

Harriet H. Naylor, Director of the Office of Volunteer Development, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Pamela Nesmith, League of Women Voters of the United States

Patrick A. Saccomandi, National Director, Independent Foundation

Edward Schwartz, President, Institute for the Study of Civic Values

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